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ABSTRACT

The report presents the main observations and conclusions from a three-day visit by a group of experts from the Council for Cultural Cooperation CDCC Project No. 7 to Vienna and lower Austria to examine educational provisions for migrant children to enhance and accelerate their acquisition of German as a second language and to facilitate their integration into the mainstream education system and to examine the initial and inservice training of teachers in multi-ethnic schools. Following an introductory section, Part 2 describes migrant workers (primarily from Yugoslavia and Turkey) and their families. Part 3 explains the legal and informal provisions for migrant children in Austrian schools. Part 4 details the special German language support for migrant children in Viennese compulsory schools. Part 5 outlines the integrative model of the Bad Voslau Day Boarding School. Part 6 covers the mother tongue tuition provided for Yugoslav and Turkish pupils. Part 7 traces interculturalism in the education of teachers. Part 8 concludes that the most pertinent lesson to be drawn from the Austrian experience lies in the effective demonstration that institutional obstacles, which so often hinder educational cooperation, can be eliminated without compunction. (NEC)

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The CDCC's Project No. 7 :
"The education and cultural development of migrants"

THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS' CHILDREN
(Vienna and Lower Austria)

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The CDCC's Project No. 7:

"The education and cultural development of migrants"

THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS' CHILDREN
(Vienna and Lower Austria)

Report on the visit
by the experts of Project Group No. 7

by

Mr. Franz WITTEK

The views expressed in this publication are those of the author; they do not necessarily reflect those of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe or its Secretariat

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1. INTRODUCTION

The following paper presents the main observations and conclusions from a visit by a group of experts from Project No. 7 to Vienna and lower Austria from 7-9 June 1983, to collect information on:

- educational provision for children of migrant workers aiming at enhancing and accelerating their acquisition of German as a second language;

- educational provision aiming at facilitating the integration of children of migrant workers into the mainstream education system;

- provision for the initial and in-service training of teachers working in or preparing themselves to work in multi-ethnic schools.

Other aspects, relating especially to mother tongue teaching and the situation of bilingual teachers were also discussed, but not as extensively as the above.

Finally, another dimension of the visit has to be mentioned here: the original idea behind the visit had been to examine Austria's policy for catering for the educational needs of refugee children. However, by the time the visit actually took place, the number of refugees in Austria had dwindled to such an extent that the focus of the visit had to be shifted to more permanent aspects of the education of children from non-Austrian backgrounds. However, one element of the initial programme was retained, and the group of experts was given the opportunity to visit the refugee camp in Traiskirchen, to hold a discussion with officials from the various Austrian authorities who are running the comprehensive scheme of assistance to refugees. This was complemented by a talk with political and administrative personnel from Traiskirchen about relations between local and refugee populations.

It should be highlighted here that not only the complexities of assistance to refugees were clearly beyond the scope of professional expertise of the group of visitors, but also that educational provision for children of refugees was hardly touched upon during the talks. Consequently, there would seem to be no possibility for the group of experts to contribute to a fuller understanding of these issues from a comparative perspective. This is why it was decided that this component of the visit will not be discussed in this report.

Regrettable though this may seem, it should not be overlooked that, in the last instance, the low number of refugees in Austria at that time would in itself have to be considered as a rather happy circumstance.

The party of experts was composed of Ms. Karen JAKOBSEN (Denmark), Mr. Bertil JAKOBSSON (Sweden), Ms. Annamaria TRUSSO from the Secretariat of the Council of Europe and the rapporteur (Essen University, Germany). Other experts who had been invited to take part in the visit were prevented from doing so by other commitments. The group had agreed that, in order to reflect faithfully the perception of its members, a draft report should be circulated among experts for them to suggest modifications and for the rapporteur eventually to incorporate such modifications into the final version. The production of the report having been delayed more than could have been foreseen at the outset, this has not been possible to all members of the group: Karen JAKOBSEN died before she could see the report. It came as a shock to all of us, and continues to be a loss. The report is dedicated to her memory.

The visit was arranged in conjunction with the Council of Europe, and organised by Prof. Josef VLASITS, permanent substitute of Herr Regierungsrat Ottokar SEIFERT in Project Group No. 7.

The overall programme of the visit was as follows:

Tuesday 7 June 1983:

- Introductory meeting at the Federal Department of Education and Arts (Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst);
- Visit to a primary school (Volksschule) in Vienna X: remedial provision for children of Turkish migrant workers;
- Visit to the Vienna Institute of Education (Pädagogische Akademie des Bundes): exhibition on "Migrant Children in Austrian Schools", discussion with student teachers, teachers and tutors.

Wednesday 8 June 1983:

- Visit to day boarding school (Tagesheimschule), Bad Vöslau: provision in favour of an accelerated integration, GSL acquisition and mother tongue teaching, talks with the Lower Austrian Inspectorate of Schools;
- Visit to Traiskirchen Refugee Camp: talks with representatives from the relevant Austrian authorities;
- Visit to Traiskirchen County Hall: talks with local representatives.

Thursday 9 June 1983:

- Visit to a secondary modern school (Hauptschule) in Vienna XV: remedial provision for migrant pupils, talks with teachers, heads and inspectors;
- Meeting with the Working Party of Turkish Teachers in Vienna (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der türkischen Lehrer Wiens);
- Conclusive meeting at the Federal Department of Education and Arts.

I prefer not to organise the report strictly along the sequence of the programme, but rather to group individual items under headings reflecting the educational coherence of what we were invited to see. The report will, therefore, deal with different visits to schools in Vienna in one chapter, so as to represent a range of provision within the integrated overall approach to the education of migrant workers' children adopted by the Viennese authorities. It is only in this way that the educational meaning of specific provisions can be fully appreciated in their context.

Reference will be made time and again in this report to general features of the Austrian education system and of the situation of migrant workers' children within this sytem. Readers should be aware, however, that what follows is an account of specific provision in specific places, and so cannot in any way reflect the full scope of support which is made available to these children throughout Austria's nine states. On the contrary, it was often repeated to the group of experts that a much wider range of provision - both in terms of organisational "models" and longer

term strategies towards "integration" - has been experimented with and/or is being practised across the country. To present this variety of provision would require a different study and indeed a different approach.

Yet this very breadth of the scope of approaches and models should be seen as one among other pointers towards a dimension which it is difficult to pinpoint, but which is, none the less, an essential ingredient in any successful approach to intercultural education. The readiness to experiment with different approaches and the willingness to accept them as equally tentative - and thus, in a way, equally legitimate - seems, in the Austrian case, to contribute a good deal to a climate where change and, hopefully, progress are brought about through the questioning of accepted assumptions and established procedures, through discussion, dialogue and sometimes conflict rather than through control or coercion. It was striking and impressive to observe concomitant attitudes of openness to criticism, awareness of shortcomings and eagerness to learn, being displayed by many of the people which the group had the opportunity to meet during the visit, and especially by those who had demonstrably effective practice to their credit.

Our hosts were untiring in emphasising yet another aspect of the flexibility of their overall approach. Not only was there no need, in their opinion, to devise formal arrangements and procedures for the handling of every conceivable situation which might arise in the education of migrant children, but the very idea of such arrangements prevailing in all circumstances was clearly perceived as counterproductive, or unhelpful, when it came to enabling schools to identify what was most appropriate for the needs of these pupils. Much of that was to be left to individual teachers and schools, who were actively encouraged to chart their own paths to more satisfying practice. Where teachers felt the need to depart here or there from existing regulations, this was generally seen as tolerable or even desirable, provided such "overstepping" of procedures could be shown as potentially beneficial in educational terms.

Finally, among the other less tangible impressions to be gained during a visit of this nature, one more should be highlighted here, since it seems to be closely related to what has just been described. Relationships between teachers and their hierarchical superiors appeared to be happily free from strife and mistrust, and rather, if anything, marked by a shared feeling that all, in their different ways and in their different positions, were trying to make their contribution to a common purpose, were making these contributions as best they could, and could all expect to be respected for what contributions they made. To be sure, there was argument, but even where differences of opinion could not easily be bridged, the willingness or ability of the oponents to listen to each other and to try and grasp each other's points of view never broke down. Such a climate is not to be found as frequently as one might wish in debates on the education of migrant children, and less so where the people involved occupy (significantly) different positions in the educational hierarchy. Thus, there is reason to highlight this as another element contributing to a climate where the common search for solutions flexible enough to match a wide diversity of situations seem to provide the grounds on which progress could be achieved through both consent and dissent.

2. MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, WITH A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Although Austria, by its geographical position and political history, has for many centuries been the scene of major population movements, and although ethnic and linguistic diversity are by no means new dimensions of her social structure, migration into the country as construed in this report started only in 1962, when workers were first recruited in Yugoslavia and Turkey. It was not before 1969 that the proportion of the migrant work force in the overall active population exceeded 3% for the first time, reaching its peak with 8.7% in 1973. It has declined since, but would now seem to be stabilising at just above 6%, with absolute numbers totalling 155,000 in 1982.

The legal conditions of stay and access to work for migrant workers are set out in the "Foreigners Employment Act" which came into force on 1 January 1976. Work permits are generally restricted to specified jobs, valid for a year and renewable on application. It is only after eight years of uninterrupted employment in Austria that permission to look for other jobs without restrictions is granted. This permission is renewable every two years. Although Austria has not formally followed the example of other European host countries to bring immigration for employment to a complete stop, there are now hardly any possibilities left to obtain a work permit (and thus leave to stay) prior to entry. Generally, such permits may only be granted if no suitable applicant is to be found for a given post from the work force residing in the country. Out of seven categories of job seekers, the two top priority ones are composed of the indigenous unemployed only. Furthermore, the "Foreigners Employment Act" rules that, in the event of redundancies in any given firm, migrants will be the first to be made redundant.

An intricate system of quotas, which are calculated on the basis of existing migrant employment ratios and an expected decrease in the number of migrant workers, sets the framework for the differential issuing of work permits in the individual Federal States and some sectors of the economy. Where these quotas are retained, even existing work permits may only be renewed or changed to new jobs if no suitable indigenous applicant can be found for the job.

Yugoslav workers are by far the biggest group, with a share of about 75% in the total migrant population, followed by Turkish workers (about 10%), the remaining 15% being composed of small groups from a much wider range of national backgrounds. It needs to be immediately highlighted, though, that the scope of linguistic and cultural diversity is much wider than these figures would at first suggest. The Yugoslavs alone come from as many as nearly 20 different linguistic communities. For 1974 and 1975, SEIFERT enumerates 21 languages other than German being spoken in Austrian schools, and there seems to be some degree of likelihood for at least one significant language group (Kurdish) to have been overlooked in that count.

By far the biggest "migrant settlements" (if such a contradiction of terms is to be tolerated here) are to be found in Vienna. In 1978, nearly 45% of all migrant workers in Austria lived there, although, on the other hand, in 1982, the proportion of migrant workers in the overall active population was only second highest in Vienna (9.7%) as compared to 15.6% in Vorarlberg. In 1972, nearly 90% of all migrants were doing unqualified manual jobs, with 71.5% of the men and 93.7% of the women in industry, transport and the tertiary sector. Housing conditions, even when weighted by social class, compared poorly to those of the indigenous majority population, characterised as they are by overcrowding, poor equipment and basic amenities, and average rent about twice as high as those charged to the indigenous population.

To form a full picture, the figures quoted here in relation to employment and housing would of course need to be complemented by much more comprehensive data. Also, they cannot be seen as rigorously representative, since they relate to Yugoslav workers in Vienna only, and were furthermore obtained by means of a simple survey dating back as far as 1974. All the same, they do make it clear that, at least in Vienna, the overall situation of migrant workers and their families is not basically different from that to be encountered in the inner cities of virtually all major urban agglomerations of the European immigration countries. Aggravated as their situation is by institutional discrimination, frequent hostility among the wider populations of the host societies, the absence of political rights, overall legal insecurity and the resulting difficulty to make realistic plans for their and their families' future, it is the migrants who are getting the worst deal out of cumulative cycles of inner urban decay, unemployment and social disadvantage which make Europe's inner cities a formidable seedbed of both social conflict and social change. These are the conditions under which the educators we met and the schools we visited were working for their contribution to a more educationally just and harmonious society.

There has been, and continues to be, considerable debate among sociologists and educationalists about the "currentness" of terminology used to designate those groups of workers who have moved from the developing areas of the world in to the highly industrialised countries of Northwest Europe during the last 30 or so years. Terms like aliens, foreigners, guest workers, migrant workers, immigrants, immigrant workers, ethnic minorities and - in the case of the United Kingdom - "Black British" have all been suggested, used and rejected on various grounds. A good deal of this debate would seem to be due to the sheer range of diversity in the legal, socio-economic and overall political situations prevalent in different countries. Another aspect of the controversy is related to the fact that even in one single country, none of these terms will cover all dimensions of a complex social reality. Consequently, the decision on which term to use will also depend on the specific angle - legal, sociological, educational etc - from which the issue is viewed.

Yet the final and most important dimension of the debate resides in the ideological and political connotations of any given terminology. Inasmuch as language reflects and shapes how we perceive and classify social reality and members of society, many sociologists and educationalists feel concern over the potential reification of existing social power relations by the use of terminology which will reflect these relations too directly and too uncritically; efforts are therefore being made to develop terminologies which would rather emphasise the potential for change which is also inherent in all social relations. Yet, the side effects of this are not always the ones which were initially being aimed for. The dividing line between the descriptive and the prescriptive element in such terminology is increasingly blurred.

What the debate is ultimately about are hoped for social outcomes of the use of a "correct" terminology in terms of the options for different and often conflicting patterns of identity which are available to those concerned. It would only seem to be fair to leave these decisions to those who are directly affected by them, and therefore to spend less energy on evolving a legitimate language and more on supporting those concerned. What these debates tend to overlook is that there might be other factors than "correct" language to play a part in shaping the social destiny of these groups.

I have, therefore, preferred to use the term "migrant workers", which seems to have been most thoroughly neutralised through its general use in international bureaucracies and which, in its original meaning, has the merit of not obfuscating either of the two dimensions of social class and politically induced instability. Mass economic migration into Austria is a more recent phenomenon than in most other industrialised European countries, and migrant communities might, therefore, be considered slightly less settled in Austria than in other countries.

3. CHILDREN OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN AUSTRIAN SCHOOLS

Any child living in Austria for a period of at least one school term (half a year) is subject to compulsory education by the same standards as Austrian children. By the terms of the "Compulsory Education Act", pupils whose German is not sufficient for them to be able to follow teaching in the mainstream classroom, are admitted to a class corresponding to their age, and they are assigned the status of "extraordinary" pupils. In itself, this entails no more than that their language difficulties will be taken into account in assessments of their academic performance. This situation normally ends after 12 months, but may exceptionally be extended for another period of the same length, if, for reasons which are not attributable to the pupil, his/her proficiency in German continues to be insufficient. After this period, regulations valid for Austrian children will be applied to migrant pupils without exception. It should be noted that the "Compulsory Education Act" does not in any way refer to criteria of national or ethnic origin, but to insufficient German only.

Yet, this is no more than the legal situation. This report will focus on provision that is being made available beyond what is required in strictly legal terms.

The following statistical details are given to enable teachers to form an idea of the general situation against which such extra provision is to be seen. By the latest available statistics, 11,286 Yugoslav and 11,405 Turkish pupils attended Austrian compulsory schools in October 1982, representing 1.48 or 1.49% respectively out of a total school population of 763,971. 1982 was the first time that numbers of Turkish pupils exceeded those of Yugoslav students. If these overall percentages seem to be low, one should not overlook the fact that in places like Vienna or Vorarlberg, overall proportions of migrant children in compulsory schools attain 11.2% or 9.6% respectively. Other figures from Vienna highlight the rapidity with which numbers have risen. From the almost 4.4% in 1977, the proportion of migrant pupils in the total school population soared to 11.0%. If further figures from Vienna are anything to go by, academic achievement would have to be seen as giving some cause for concern. While in 1981 15.1% of all primary pupils were foreigners, they represent 17.2% in special (mainly ESN) schools, and 18.3% in the lower stream of the secondary modern schools (Hauptschule) against 4.2% in the upper stream of secondary modern schools. Only 3.3% are to be found in pre-vocational training and career guidance courses (Polytechnischer Lehrgang).

To return to national figures again, only 3.6% of all Yugoslav and 1.3% of all Turkish students attending Austrian schools in 1980/81 were to be found in the more academically demanding schools extending beyond compulsory education.

A much more encouraging picture emerges from figures about mother tongue provision: 36.7% of all Turkish students and 57.8% of all Yugoslav students benefit from such provision, and it is planned to develop this continuously.

4. SPECIAL GSL SUPPORT FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN VIENNESE COMPULSORY SCHOOLS

Migrant children being, as GRATZENBERGER puts it quite drastically, "a non-entity in legal terms", all extra provision that is being made available to them in Vienna is of necessity grounded on clauses in the "School Organisation Act" relating to educational experimentation and pilot projects. Although this seems to entail a few not entirely negligible difficulties in longer term planning and budgeting, extensive use is being made of this possibility.

Apart from mother tongue teaching provision, two types of extra provision are made available:

- language support classes for students with a mother tongue other than German ;
- supplementary language support teachers.

Although in other parts of Austria, schools had experimented early on with special preparatory classes, the Viennese authorities have never adopted policies along these lines, because of their feeling that the segregative effects of such models would outweigh the eventual benefits of more rapid acquisition of German as a second language (GSL). Consequently, support classes started to be set up as a pilot project in 1971, and have been run ever since in increasing numbers. In the academic year 1982/83, nearly two hundred Viennese schools, primary, secondary modern and special, ran a total of well over 500 support classes, which at the same time implies that, in terms of schools involved, this is by far the largest among all the educational experiments in Vienna. Finally, it means that the equivalent of 20-25 full-time teaching posts is assigned to this task.

The aim of these classes is to equip migrant pupils with sufficient GSL competence for them to be able to participate successfully in lessons in compulsory schools.

Classes operate on a two periods/week withdrawal basis, and whenever possible they are composed of pupils from one and the same age group. Minimum numbers for a class to be opened are six, and it may therefore happen that pupils from different schools are to be found in these classes. But that is quite exceptional, since most schools run more than one of these classes, and are thus generally able to form reasonably homogenous groups. The maximum number of pupils in one given group is fixed at 12, so as to make fairly intensive tuition in GSL possible in order to compensate for the small amount of weekly hours. Teachers working in these classes are invariably based at the same school as their class, and are either serving as class teachers (in primary schools) or as subject specialists (in secondary mordern schools), mostly teachers of German in that latter case.

The decision to use teachers based at one given school rather than peripatetic teachers specialising full time in GSL would again have to be seen as being related to the overall integrative approach. Teachers in support classes will, thus, find it a great deal easier to liaise with their colleagues about what is going on in the mainstream class or classes from which their pupils come, and thus to keep themselves informed of the specific GSL needs of individual pupils. For it seems clear that a great deal of familiarity with the intricacies of mixed "ability" teaching (a more adequate term has yet to be found) is required of these teachers who are not always in a position to experience directly the difficulties which their pupils may have in subject matters other than German. Liaison with their colleagues turns out to be an essential prerequisite in the planning of their day-to-day work, and does so more and more as students move into secondary modern schools to tackle the specialist vocabulary of an increasingly diversified curriculum.

There is another aspect of the educational demands made on these teachers which proves that close collaboration with their colleagues is a crucial ingredient for success: if pupils may join the support class any time of the year, they may also abandon it at any one moment to attend their respective mainstream classes full-time, provided they are considered ready to do so successfully. Clearly, to determine the moment for full integration requires teachers on both sides of the "divide" to harmonise their approaches and to be attentive both to their individual pupils' developments and each other's plans. If the strength of the integrative approach adopted by the Viennese authorities rests in the fact that the support class is seen not as an administrative unit but as a flexible means to a given educational objective, this at the same time establishes the need for across-the-curriculum approaches to GSL teaching which are generally best evolved by schools as a whole.

However, the possibility for pupils to attend these classes being in no way subject to their having the status of an "extraordinary" pupil, there is no institutional pressure for unnecessary haste, and schools may well decide to leave pupils in support classes for a considerable time, as two withdrawal periods a week are unlikely to harm their social integration into the mainstream class.

Thsu, the institutional prerequisites are there for a broad based flexible approach to be put into practice by schools. At the same time, as numbers of migrant pupils, and so demands on schools, increased in the second half of the seventies, a need started to be felt for more extra support provision. There is a moment when quantative developments lead to qualitative change; there is a moment when it becomes impossible for either the primary class teachers or the secondary subject specialists to keep themselves abreast of the GSL needs of an ever increasing number of pupils in one given class. It is not only the sheer number of pupils in need of extra support which grows in such cases, but also a widening range of different needs of individual pupils which have to be met.

As the proportions of migrant pupils in Viennese schools doubled, the system of two weekly periods of support classes started to show signs of strain, and, as is inevitable, the results of this emerged most clearly in mainstream classes. Austrian parents showed anxiety about educational standards falling in schools, about too much teacher time being devoted to migrant pupils in mainstream classes, and not enough to their children.

This will also have to be seen in the wider context of the inner urban crisis. To base assessments of that situation on average figures about migrant presence in Vienna's schools would be grossly misleading indeed. Proportions vary considerably between the 23 administrative divisions of Vienna, 10 divisions having more than 20% migrants' children and two of them under 5%. The same applies to the situation within districts. The patterns of accommodation and housing available to migrants are such that in one and the same district it was possible to find schools with very few migrant pupils next to schools with proportions of over 50%. The likelihood is that indigenous pupils from areas of high density of migrant settlement will not come from privileged homes themselves, and will therefore also be in need of some extra help.

At the beginning of the academic year 1980/81, the situation had come to a point where it was perceived to be no longer acceptable. Within a few days, the "Projekt Begleitlehrer" (Project Support Teacher) was conceived and delivered.

It is significant that, even at that time, which must have been experienced by many as a moment of crisis, the Viennese authorities did not allow themselves to relinquish their overall integrative approach to the education of migrant children. Although difficulties were felt to be most acute in the first two years of primary education, although it might therefore have appeared to be both organisationally feasible and politically tempting to satisfy demands from Austrian parents - and, it must be said, from some Austrian teachers - in a spectacular way by setting up special preparatory classes, suggestions to that effect were firmly rejected. Franz GRATZENBERGER from the Viennese Inspectorate stated the position plainly and emphatically in one of our discussions: "We in Vienna have never done that; we don't want ghetto schools or ghetto classes. What we want is to integrate and support foreign children, and to do so without detriment to the progress of the indigenous children."

All the same, it did appear necessary to accept a minimum degree of specialisation on the side of the teachers. With the creation of a group of 18 supplementary language support teachers (Begleitlehrer), teachers were, for the first time in Vienna, seconded to full-time posts for the teaching of migrant children. This makes it particularly interesting to look at the institutional arrangements which are there to ensure that these "support teachers" continue to function as part of the "normal" staff of a school. Their administrative status, teaching obligation, payment etc, are no different from that of their other Austrian colleagues. Equally, they are invariably based at the school where they spend most of their teaching time, and are accountable in the first instance to the Head of the school. The teacher's timetable will be drawn up in consultation between him/herself, the Head of the school where he/she is based, and eventually the Heads of other schools where he/she may work. In schools operating a subject specialist system (mainly secondary modern schools - F.W.), the teacher may fulfil part of his/her teaching commitment by teaching mainstream classes.

Schools may be invited to give "their" support teacher the opportunity to join, and report to, staffroom conferences on a termly basis, to consult with him/her about progress which individual pupils make or do not make, and to hear him/her therefore taking far reaching decisions such as obliging a student to repeat a school year or referring him/her to testing for ESN school. Support teachers having mostly volunteered for this job (some were recruited among Vienna's unemployed teachers), they do seem to take this aspect of their role rather seriously. As one Head commented about the support teacher in her school: "Now, she really is a good soul; one who won't stop before she'll have urged every single child to every teacher's care".

In primary schools, teachers will teach five groups of between six and 10 pupils, on a basis of five periods a week. Whilst one of these five periods is to be set aside for extra intensive G.S.L. support for those children who are in greatest need, the other four are taught either on a withdrawal basis, or, where this is possible, to organise, and where the class teacher and the support teacher decide to do so, on a team teaching basis in the mainstream classroom. Support teachers in modern secondary and ESN schools will generally work six periods per week each with four groups of the same size.

The operational principles outlined above, as well as the description of aims and teaching methods, were worked out by staff from the Inspectorate and the full group of supply teachers during a four day in-service training course which was held at a very early stage. The in-service element has continued to play an important role in the further development of the programme ever since. Support teachers were especially advised to enrol in relevant courses with the Vienna Institute of Education (Pädagogisches Institut der Stadt Wien). When some formed a group of their own to pool their experience, develop teaching aids and materials, and generally to work more permanently on issues which they felt were most relevant to their work, the Institute provided them with the material facilities required, including a small budget to invite experts for occasional lectures. The group has stabilised over the years, and, at the time of our visit, about a third of the 50 regular support teachers attended meetings regularly.

The aims of the programme, as evolved by the in-service training course, are stated in a rather bland way: "to facilitate the acquisition, by children whose mother tongue is not German, of an elementary basic knowledge of German ... Communicative abilities are the prerequisite for the acquisition of social skills, and thus of the very possibility of integration, without therefore necessarily obstructing children's cultural specificity".

As far as teaching strategies are concerned, it is stated that in primary schools liaison with class teachers will be essential if the GSL support programme is to keep in touch with curriculum contents to be acquired in the mainstream class. To adopt a similar approach in secondary modern schools where the curriculum is much more diverse, and where consequently the number of subject specialists to liaise with would be much greater, and where pupils in a given support group are more likely to come from a range of school years, the GSL syllabus will, of necessity, be much more autonomous vis-à-vis the mainstream curriculum, but teachers are encouraged to use contents from the full scope of subjects as stimuli for communication.

At the end of the first year, the programme was considered to have been very largely successful, and certainly successful enough for its continuation and extension to be justified. Out of the 890 primary school children, 329 had made enough progress to be able to join the mainstream classes full-time without any further support during the course of the academic year. A further 200 had reached this stage at the end of the year, and of the remaining 361 children, 209 were seen as needing further intensive support in the next year, whereas the other 152 would be able to do so with two weekly periods in a support class. In the secondary modern schools, 78 out of 425 pupils had, by the end of the year, reached a stage where they would need no further support, 171 were successful enough to be allowed to move on to the next school year, but would still require some support, whereas the remaining 176 would continue to need the same sort of intensive support. Unfortunately, no details are given about how these figures relate to those pupils (222 in primary, 217 in secondary modern schools) who entered the programme without any knowledge of German at all.

Yet another, and probably not less significant indicator of the programme's success is constituted by the fact that not more than 2% of the primary pupils in the programme were referred to ESN schools.

Before turning to the actual teaching we saw, it would seem only fair to highlight the obvious, ie the limitations to observation, and thus to comment, which arise from the nature of visits of this kind. First, our visit took place at a moment when schools were in the middle of the rush to end the summer term. Then, the sheer amount of what we were meant (and needed) to see made for a fairly tight schedule, and, as we were ushered through classrooms, spending no more than 30 minutes in each, we did not have the time to observe lessons in full or - just as important - to discuss what we had seen and heard with the teachers, not to speak of the pupils, in the required amount of detail. Finally, although teachers and pupils did their best to ignore us, they could not be expected to do so. Our passing through classrooms was quite obviously perceived as an event of its own kind. The "teacher observed" will nearly invariably not so much "teach" as demonstrate how he or she usually teaches. Among all "rules" for the classroom observer to observe, this is the first one: not to forget that, more than anything else, it is his or her presence itself which is very largely to be held accountable for what touches of didacticism there may be. To take this from another angle, one support teacher remarked in an aside that in many of her classes she used to spend some time with her students inviting them to talk about themselves, about their families, their homes and their friends, and to try to make them understand - "really understand, in their hearts, if you know what I mean" - that in these moments at least she wanted to know and to learn about them, and not, one might add, about the development of their communicative skills in GSL. Such moments may well constitute some of the most effective ingredients in her approach to the teaching of GSL, but to use such moments for demonstration purposes would have equalled a betrayal of her students' trust in her. Consequently, although we don't really know if these were her reasons for not trying to let us observe such moments, and although we'll never know what they may be like, our job is to appreciate and accept that as a fact of (a classroom observer's) life - and then go on to report what we saw.

We saw four classes: two in a primary school, where in both the intensive support and mainstream classes the language teaching evolved around the topic "We are going to the local swimming pool", thus providing us with an example of the co-ordinated approach to mainstream and intensive support teaching. In a secondary modern school, we saw one support teacher and one teacher in a support class.

The classrooms were generally richly decorated, partly with pupils' drawings, and well provided with materials and teaching aids, books tape recorders and cassettes. Decoration aiming at reflecting the multi-cultural composition of the school's population was to be found in one classroom only, where short bilingual texts had been placed near posters showing scenes from Yugoslavia and Turkey.

All the lessons we saw were very carefully planned and highly structured, and teachers remained firmly in control of classes as they moved at a lively pace through sequences from a range of different forms of oral and written work, thus ensuring a high level of pupil attention and giving pupils the opportunity to approach the linguistic and subject matter content of the lesson from different angles. With one possible exception, topics for language work seemed reasonably well chosen throughout all classes to retain the attention of pupils and allow them to establish links between their experience inside and outside school. The primary teachers had brought real objects to be shown to, touched and named by their pupils; in one class a poem was recited at the outset, in another a song was sung by the whole class at the end, work at the blackboard alternated with silent desk work, teachers' explanations were followed by detailed exercises by the pupils, and there was never a moment when discipline had to be imposed because the pupils lost interest or got bored.

Clearly, what we saw was skilful and effective teaching and it would therefore be pedantic to dwell on occasional shortcomings such as the apparently inordinate amount of new and not always related vocabulary which pupils were confronted with in one class. It seems more interesting to have a short look at the patterns of classroom communication. The one feature which most lessons had in common was the degree to which they were dominated by the teachers, who nearly invariably held every second element of the (teacher-pupil-teacher-pupil-etc) communication chain. Not only teachers tended to use most of the talking time, but by far the greater part of the language they elicited from pupils seemed to say "I am an example of grammar" (1) rather than "This is a pair of sunglasses", or "My favourite swimming pool is in ...". Pupils knew that they were expected to produce patterns of "correct" language, the models of which had been provided by the teacher; they also knew that they ought to use full sentences (to "tell a story", as one teacher used to say); they did no less and no more than that. A primary school child is indeed likely to remember the word "water wings" more easily if she has actually been given the opportunity to see and to touch or even to put them on; but all the same one wished for her friend who so obviously knew how to put them on to be allowed to help her, or for the class to be invited to discuss whether to inflate them or not, and how much, before they were actually pulled over the arm.

Thus, what pupils said never seemed to be quite as important as how they said it, and although a good deal of language was generally elicited from them, they did not really communicate during lessons. The language(s) they possessed were quite apparently not so much seen as a resource to be used, enjoyed and developed, but sometimes appeared rather more to be treated as something that must be superseded by the specific language of the school. We felt that, while in the lessons we observed, the teachers clearly were in control of what went on in the class, both their and their pupils' behaviour was dominated by yet another, much less tangible power - that of the teaching situation itself.

5. THE INTEGRATIVE MODEL OF THE BAD VÖSLAU DAY BOARDING SCHOOL

Bad Vöslau is a small town in Lower Austria, situated about 25 km south of Vienna on the southern foothills of the Wienerwald Mountains. The local textile industry, which employs mainly unqualified labour, attracted increasing numbers of Yugoslav and Turkish workers, many of whom came with their families. In the mid-seventies the numbers of migrant children rose to a level where the need for more intensive educational support became obvious. At about the same time, patterns of employment also changed in Austrian families, as more and more locals took up jobs outside Bad Vöslau, and there started to be more families where both parents worked outside the home.

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(1) See VALERY'S famous observation that "Quia nominor leo" does not mean "For lion I am called" but rather "I am an example of grammar".

After extensive public consultation, one primary school in Bad Vöslau was transformed into a day boarding school (Tagesheimschule-DBS) in 1977; as such it operates during afternoon hours when other Austrian schools are closed. Technically speaking, only the second half of the day is to be considered as "day boarding school", for in the morning the school functions as any other normal primary school. But, as the premises used are the same, as the teaching staff of the day boarding school is entirely recruited among that of the primary school, and as, of course, all afternoon pupils attend the primary school in the morning, this had direct and far-reaching effects on the primary school itself.

The day boarding school might be described as a voluntary service supplementing the compulsory school. Its purpose is partly to relieve the burden on single parent families and on families who would have difficulties in looking after their children during the afternoon, but mainly to offer extra support to all children who may need it, and to speed up the integration of migrant children. Indeed, if in the day boarding school the proportion of migrant children was 60%, 77.1% of all migrant children in the primary school attended the day boarding school as against 37.5% of the indigenous.

At the time of our visit, a total of 332 children were taught in the 13 classes of the primary school, 140 of them migrant children, mainly from Yugoslavia and Turkey; there were also small numbers of children with Hungarian, Rumanian, Arabic, Farsi, Polish or Czech as their first language. One boy whose language was not identified came from Sri Lanka.

It is the voluntary attendance during afternoons that distinguishes day boarding schools from another form of day schooling in Austria, the "Ganztagsschule", where attendance during afternoons is compulsory for all pupils on roll. It is individual parents who decide whether to enlist their offspring for afternoon attendance at day boarding schools. Generally this is done at the beginning of the year, but pupils may exceptionally join or leave the day boarding school during the year. It is also possible for parents to enrol their children for day boarding school attendance on certain days of the week only. Additional costs arising from this provision are met by the commune (maintenance cost) and central government (teachers' overtime pay), so parents do not incur extra expense for their children's attendance except for lunches. Since not all the pupils are present in the afternoon, activities are either strictly supportive or recreational in character, and new matter for learning may never be introduced during afternoons. More emphasis can thus be placed on processes of social learning and on the informal, but nonetheless essential, social and communicative sides of the integration of migrant pupils into the educational community of their school.

The Bad Vöslau day boarding school has devised a schedule for its activities which is respected during normal days. During morning hours, all migrant children participate fulltime, and where their knowledge of German seems to make this necessary they are admitted to a two lessons/week withdrawal GSL support class. Again, these support classes are co-ordinated closely with mainstream classes, and teachers see to it that migrant pupils acquire those elements of German which they will need most in mainstream classes; accordingly, support class teachers in Bad Vöslau have over time evolved a wider approach to the teaching of GSL, which also covers those aspects of the language which pupils will need in curriculum areas other than German. Concretely, this approach was described to us as implying

that support class teachers will spend some time explaining again what language has been used in subjects like arithmetic, environmental studies etc, and will often also devote time to actually teaching these subjects to pupils in the support class.

Extra-curricular mother tongue tuition for Yugoslav (in Serbo-Croatian) and Turkish pupils is provided within the framework of the day boarding school, and pupils of the Islamic faith may also attend two weekly hours of religious instruction which are dispensed, in German, by an Islamic religious education teacher provided by the Vienna Islamic Institute.

Apart from these special activities for migrant children, the schedule of the day boarding school is the same for all pupils regardless of their origin. From 11.10 am to 12.10 pm, the six year olds gather for their meal and then play freely until 1.20 pm, when the older pupils have also taken their lunches and been given some time to spend in the school's playground. This is followed by a 75-minutes learning period, where pupils do their "homework" under the supervision, and with the advice and help, of their class teachers, and are invited to do special exercises which relate to things which they have just learnt during that same day's morning mainstream class.

This arrangement provides a feed-back to both pupils and teachers, as the first are given the opportunity to have their difficulties explained to them a second time - and in a more individualised manner - while the latter can rapidly shape a full and particularly well-informed picture of both learning difficulties of individual pupils and the effectiveness of their teaching in terms of the adequacy of their own teaching strategies, pace of progress, level of difficulty and expectation. Where this extra afternoon support period cannot be ascertained by the mainstream morning class teacher, both she and her afternoon colleague keep detailed written records of pupils' responses to what they have done, and of the difficulties they have encountered; on top of this, meetings are arranged from time to time between such "morning" and "afternoon" teachers to ensure a regular flow of information and feed-back.

Finally, to avoid the potential stigmatizing effects of this provision being labelled as "supporting slow learners", all day boarding school pupils participate in it and the more advanced ones among them are given more demanding jobs to do so as to enable them to consolidate what progress they made during morning hours.

This learning period is then followed by a further 70 minutes of "guided leisure" which is prepared and conducted by teachers. A great variety of activities is offered regularly, and of course this is where the integrative character of this type of provision can be brought to bear most effectively, because such activities do in themselves provide opportunities for genuine inter-cultural encounters where both migrant and indigenous pupils actively learn about each other and their cultures in a free and spontaneous way.

Although figures available from Bad Vöslau are not quite as comprehensive as those from Vienna, those which are given highlight the success of this approach in a spectacular way: in the academic year 1981/82 only one out of 201 Austrian children was not allowed to go on to the next "school year", and among the seven migrant children in this case (out of 134), three had only joined the school in the course of that year.

Quite obviously, how much of this will have to be attributed to the "outward" structure of the provision described above, and how much of it to the climate of enthusiasm which so clearly prevailed in the school is not possible for us to make out. To identify the factors which make up the climate of confidence, mutual trust and commitment to shared goals which impressed all visitors to the school, would be impossible, and so to forecast which parts of the Bad Vöslau experience would "survive" attempts to transfer it to schools which would necessarily have another Head than the Bad Vöslau day boarding school would be equally impossible. For clearly the Bad Vöslau experience demonstrated once more that with exceptional Heads you make exceptional schools.

It is in a context like this that some interestingly unorthodox forms of teaching should best be seen. In one of the school's support classes we saw about ten minutes of combined GSL and gymnastic exercises which, we were told, it was useful to interject at a moment of the day where the pupils, who in this case were all recent beginners in German, started to tire of the morning's first few hours of learning. The exercise was based on the full group of pupils mimicking certain bodily gestures while at the same time singing out in chorus what they were doing: I am standing, I am walking, I am sitting down, I am getting up, I am looking, I am reading, I am writing etc. After a few minutes of this, two pupils - one boy and one girl - posted themselves in front of the group and in alternation went through motions, the class commenting in chorus: she is jumping, he is sleeping, she is eating, etc.

What was striking about this exercise was the fact that although no one would expect to find an exercise like the one described above in a book on second language teaching, the children very clearly enjoyed the exercise and did it speedily and enthusiastically. Although hardly any linguistic communication took place during this exercise, the children seemed to feel a sense of unity in what they were doing.

In a narrowly defined sense, this was the only GSL lesson which we saw in Bad Vöslau, but the teacher whom we saw teaching a lesson of German grammar in a mainstream class where 13 out of 23 pupils were of migrant origin, paid careful attention to the GSL dimension of what she did. Far from relying on the fact that in the mainstream class the children were to be expected to follow effortlessly, she always inquired whether her pupils actually understood what was being said, and explained to pupils, asking them to memorise the new words that might be introduced for purposes of grammatical demonstration. Otherwise careful planning and effective use of teaching time clearly gets the best part of teachers' attention, so that the teaching never quite seemed to get beyond the stage where language use for communication appears to be a prerogative of the teacher, and where things happened as though using language would have to be seen as a remote stage that could be legitimately embarked upon only after the process of learning was completed.

6. MOTHER TONGUE TUITION FOR YUGOSLAV AND TURKISH PUPILS

Contrary to the GSL and mainstream provision which we saw in Vienna and Bad Vöslau, the mother tongue teaching to be discussed in this chapter is a national provision that is arranged for and organised by the Federal Ministry of Education and Arts. Like the other extra provision discussed, it is being conducted within the legal framework (and within the organisational restrictions

that this entails) of educational experimentation. Mother tongue tuition for children of Yugoslav migrant workers was first provided in 1975, and parallel provision for children of Turkish workers was instituted a year later. Reasonably large proportions of Yugoslavs (57.8%) and Turks (36.7%) benefit from it. As is to be expected, by far the largest share of mother tongue tuition for Yugoslav children is offered in Serbo-Croat, but a small number of learning groups composed of children whose first language is either Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian or Hungarian also exists. The aim of the provision, according to the official texts, is "to give pupils the opportunity to maintain and develop their mother tongue, and their knowledge about their home country, so as to enable them to continue their schooling without difficulties after their ultimate return to their home country".

We were told during a discussion in Vienna that other aims for mother tongue teaching such as helping migrant pupils to develop a bilingual potential and to maintain their linguistic and cultural identities has only recently emerged in the debate and were not yet given much predominance. One might indeed feel inclined to conclude that the emphasis which the above description of aims is putting on "return" and "re-integration" is partly at least to be explained by the political framework within which mother tongue teaching is provided in Austria. Above all, this framework is marked by a degree of close co-operation between the receiving and the sending countries. It is well-known that wherever the governments of sending countries have been involved in the education of their nationals in the receiving countries, their main concern has traditionally been with the maintenance of linguistic and cultural links with the country of origin, and this in a perspective of ultimate return. As on the other hand Austria's policies related to the employment of foreigners are predominantly aiming at ensuring the mobility of the migrant work force, this adds further weight to the factors which contribute to mother tongue teaching being conceived as one instrument among others of an overall migration policy.

Co-operation between Austria on the one hand and Turkey and Yugoslavia on the other hand focusses mainly on teacher recruitment, the provision of textbooks and the implementation of syllabi. Teachers are nominated by the Yugoslav or Turkish authorities in accordance with national qualification requirements, but they are appointed and remunerated by the Austrian authorities on exactly the same scales as their Austrian colleagues, and are also inspected and supervised by the Austrian authorities. Textbooks are provided free by the governments of the home countries, but a list of text-books will first have to be submitted to the Austrian authorities, who then decide which textbooks to approve for use in Austrian schools. Finally, "extra-curricular mother tongue teaching is provided within the framework of Austrian legal requirements and syllabi. The syllabus will be based on one submitted by the Yugoslav/Turkish Education Authorities".

Mother tongue classes are, as a matter of principle, conducted as extra-curricular activities. Although they take place within normal school hours, they are not part of the compulsory curriculum of Austrian schools, marks obtained are not entered on pupils' yearly record of performance, and are irrelevant to decisions about whether pupils are to be allowed to enter the next year or not. They are held on a basis of three to five withdrawal lessons per week. Although the Austrian education authorities are under no obligation to provide such courses, Turkish pupils are obliged to attend where a course exists. Classes can be opened if a minimum of seven pupils is to be found in one school or in several neighbouring schools, and numbers of pupils are not to exceed 15 pupils per class.

During our meeting with the Panel of the Working Party of Turkish Teachers in Vienna we were informed of the range of possibilities found by schools in co-operation with Turkish teachers to make sure that attendance at extra-curricular mother tongue classes did not lead to pupils missing out on essential subjects. Most schools tended to arrange for mother tongue classes to be held at moments when "less important" subjects like arts and crafts, gymnastics or religious education (which Muslim pupils do not generally attend anyway) take place; but one secondary school was reported to have adopted a solution where the mainstream classes' time-table was arranged in such a way that during the first half of the year the Turkish pupils attending the mother tongue class would miss out on one of these subjects, and on another during the second half. Although in some schools the prevalent climate tended to induce teachers to be most concerned about the completion of the Austrain programme, and so to view mother tongue provision as being rather more of a disturbance, most schools were said to be helpful and understanding when such problems cropped up on the agenda.

Equally, schools were reported to be generally willing to use the resources of bilingual teachers, eg to ask them for help in liaison with non-bilingual Turkish parents, to ask them for information and advice about the general education needs of Turkish pupils etc. One school used to arrange termly meetings between Turkish parents, the Head and the Turkish teacher; these were generally well attended, and a case was cited where some parents could be persuaded to change their minds about the doubts they had had about allowing their children to go to a residential centre in the country with the rest of the class. When the children finally returned, it was felt that a page had been turned in relations between Turkish parents and the school. One teacher from another school told us that when his Austrian colleagues asked him to do so, he sometimes used his lessons to give extra support to some of his pupils in order to help them to overcome difficulties they were having in mainstream subjects, mainly maths.

It should be noted that all or most of this liaison work was being done under rather difficult conditions, as most teachers worked in more than one school and transport time constituted a supplementary burden in an already crowded time-table: some of these teachers gave up to 32 lessons a week, in as many as six different schools; and effective day-to-day co-operation among foreign and indigenous teachers is of course not made more easy by those time-tables. However, even such relatively limited co-operation as only exceptionally affects teaching practice in either mother tongue or mainstream classes should be seen as a significant step towards the introduction of intercultural elements into the everyday life of schools, and as transcending such utilitarian conceptions of mother tongue teaching which see it mainly as the educational element of return-oriented migration policies.

It is widely agreed today that mother tongue teaching can and should be used for wider purposes, mainly as a means for supporting pupils' bilingual and bicultural identities, and as a step towards fuller recognition of the intrinsic educational and academic value of learning one's first language. Not all bilingual teachers could possibly be expected to be fully aware of the scope of the issues involved, and some - or many - may have opted for consciously subordinating their teaching aims to a return migration policy. This seemed to have been the case of the Yugoslav teacher in Bad Vöslau who, after a remarkably lively discussion of a Serbo-Croatian poem, complained that some pupils had spoken German during the discussion: "This can't be what the mother

tongue class is for". Understandable though that position may be, one might have wished to argue that her pupils would not necessarily have been able to discuss the poem as vividly if she had more strictly tried to enforce the rule that German should not be used in the mother tongue class. For the essential point in her class was not so much that children occasionally used German, but that they had been allowed to use their linguistic repertoires to the full. The ease with which pupils switched languages in the course of their discussion certainly gave credit to their bilingual abilities. And one might indeed support such an approach as being appropriate to the educational needs of a Yugoslav community who, as we were informed in Bad Vöslau, has very largely abandoned the idea of an eventual return.

It is undeniable that in the long run the issues of return migration, societal multi-lingualism and intercultural education will require political settlement, and in the absence of such decisions teachers - foreign or indigenous - can hardly be expected to make the step towards recognising bilingualism as an educationally valuable recourse in itself rather than emphasising shortcomings in pupils' proficiency in either language, or even as seeing any one language as an obstacle on the road to full acquisition of the other. But it seemed to us that although teachers were not necessarily always conscious of this, some steps were being effectively made by the Yugoslav teacher in Bad Vöslau and by those Turkish teachers in Vienna who seized whatever opportunity offered to help their colleagues to discover and use the potential which the presence in schools of these teachers implied.

7. INTERCULTURALISM IN THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

It was stated repeatedly during our discussions that for some time both initial and in-service provision for the training of teachers had been slow to respond to the presence of migrant children in Austrian schools. The assumption prevailed that "in the face of the economic slump teacher education could neglect the issue and wait for the problem to be solved 'naturally' through the return of the workers". But the moment came when the numbers of children had developed in such a way as to make the impracticability of this approach apparent and in 1982 the Ministry of Education and Arts created the administrative requirements for colleges of higher education to offer an optional subject "Teaching children whose first language is not German" within the framework of the initial training of teachers for compulsory schools.

This title is not without ambiguities of its own, though, as it might be read as implying that teachers should specialise in teaching either GSL only or migrant children only. This is not the case. Quite the contrary, as we discussed this issue with Herr SEIFERT from the Ministry of Education and Arts who co-ordinates a working party of roughly 200 teacher trainers from all of Austria's training institutes, and with those teacher trainers whom we actually met during our visit, all were extremely aware of the necessity not to allow the introduction of an optional course to lead to the establishment of special diplomas, special jobs or even special careers, be it in teaching itself or in teacher training. Emphasis was placed on the idea that, in the long run, teacher training as a whole, and therefore teaching, must be permeated with a greater awareness on all sides of the educational needs of migrant children, and with a greater awareness of the potential for intercultural communication and interaction amongst all groups concerned.

Indeed, during a discussion which we had with tutors and students at the Vienna College of Higher Education the aims of the course offered there were described as:

- first of all to change students' attitudes towards migrant workers and their children, and to strengthen and encourage attitudes which would be conducive to equality in co-operation and communication;

- to motivate and enable students to pass such attitudes on to colleagues, parents and children;

- and, in the last instance only, to equip students with the specialist skills required in educational work with migrant children and generally to enable them to plan their work in a perspective of "integration with cultural maintenance".

Similar aims are being stated in a document which was prepared by a sub-group of the above-mentioned working party of teacher trainers. The moral right is claimed for all families to determine their cultural identities themselves, and schools are being exhorted to support and reinforce such processes. Teachers require empathy and respect for the cultural background of children, and their willingness to learn about their pupils' life circumstances should be reflected in their teaching.

It is only in the context of this philosophy that the institutional arrangements now to be outlined can be properly understood. The initial training period for teachers in compulsory schools in Austria is either two (primary education) or three years (secondary and special education). Teacher students attend an average of just above (primary) or slightly under (secondary and special) 30 weekly hours of compulsory courses each term, with the amount of compulsory courses gradually declining as students progress through the programme and approach their final exams. The optional two weekly hours per term in the "Teaching of children whose first language is not German" are not compulsory, and whatever effort students decide to put in here has to be considered as additional. At the Vienna College of Higher Education, where at the time of our visit a total of 100 students followed these courses, the overall programme was described as follows. While during the first term students became acquainted with broad-based general information on all aspects of the economic mass migration into Austria and its potential impact in education, they engage in more detailed analyses of selected aspects during the second term. This is very largely based on the available literature, and at the time of our visit second term students had compiled an analytical bibliography and a stock of excerpts from well over 100 books which they used for information and guidance and at the same time continuously added to as they progressed in their studies.

During their third term, students are invited to form teams to engage in small scale enquiries of their own which would be so construed that by necessity students would have to seek - and maintain over some time - contacts with migrant families. As a matter of principle, the range of potential subjects for such research is of course unlimited, and the themes quoted to us ranged from housing conditions in specific areas through religious attitudes to intra-family and intra-community patterns of language use.

As the fourth term is the last for students who want to be primary teachers, this is the moment for all students to begin the development of teaching materials and to actually use them in the classes which they teach as part of their training, early and regular linking of theoretical studies with practical exercises being seen as of paramount importance in the training of teachers.

In the fifth and sixth term students will participate in larger and longer projects which are being conducted in schools and mostly aim at developing links either between different ethnic groups (migrant and indigenous) within the school, or between schools and sections of the outside environment such as the parents, the wider community in the direct neighbourhood of the school etc.

Among the student teachers we met at the Vienna College of Higher Education, one had co-operated during her third year project with a supplementary support teacher from a secondary modern school. As this teacher was planning to serve as a mainstream teacher in the next academic year, the support groups she had been working with in 1982/83 would, in the year after, be taught by her future colleague, the then third year student-teacher. Her exam results pending, all arrangements to this effect had been made between the college, the inspectorate, the relevant schools and the teacher herself, thus ensuring a maximum of continuity in teacher-pupil relations for those migrant children who would continue to need intensive GSL tuition for a second year.

Once more, this case highlights the informality and density of working relationships in the Viennese education service, and the flexibility with which bureaucratic procedures were manipulated so as to allow individual solutions tailored to concrete circumstances to be adopted where possible. On the other hand, the type of appointment which was foreseen in this case should not be seen as a rule. Although participation in the optional course was acknowledged in students' final certificates, the Vienna College had no ambition to "place" former participants in jobs which were specifically related to the education of migrant pupils. In accordance with the broad permeative and sensitising approach, the policy was rather more to obtain as wide as possible a spread of teachers across the whole service.

Similarly, tutors involved in the optional course did not so much aim at drawing maximum numbers of students to the course but rather more at sensitising colleagues in regular specialist subject areas such as the humanities, psychology, or religious education to the issue and motivate them to eventually review their course content to make it meet the needs of their future students more adequately. Also, students from the optional course brought their new knowledge to the more established courses, sometimes asking to be allowed to treat specific aspects of it in their exam dissertations and papers. Thus, there was a variety of feed-back and development circuits within the college; although the mechanisms of progress were informal and results could therefore not always be closely monitored our interlocutors were satisfied that progress was being made in a steady if unobtrusive way. This approach, so they felt, was at any rate preferable to more spectacular measures which might too easily lead to an increase instead of a reduction in institutional boundaries, and might even favour the perpetuation of educational disadvantage through its institutional duplication.

It was striking to note that teacher training was the field where our interlocutors insisted most firmly on placing current practice in a medium and long-term perspective of intercultural development. Intercultural co-operation and the reciprocity of interaction were consistently given as the basic aims which teacher training and thus, by extension, the education of both migrant and indigenous pupils should strive to realise, and the flexible permeative approach which we have described might indeed be seen as the most likely guarantee for the realisation of such principles. If institutional responses to the migrant presence in Austrian schools were slow to be formulated, a good deal of tentative and nonetheless effective practice seems to have taken place before that stage, as is indicated by the presence of students in Vienna who were, by the time of our visit, completing the last stages of a three years' study programme. Although such things are difficult to conjecture, one might feel inclined to wonder whether it may have been the relative freedom from the immediacy of the demands of more formalised types of action that has enabled teacher training to reach a degree of maturity in thinking where larger scale action could from the outset be set in a conceptual framework of interculturalism and thus avoid the pitfalls of an unduly "problem-oriented" approach.

8. CONCLUSION: EVALUATION AND TRANSFERIBILITY

The broad overall integrative approach which the Austrian authorities have adopted towards the education of migrant children has been highlighted throughout this paper, and although this was what impressed the group of experts most strongly, no further comments will be made here on individual achievements or on the achievements of individuals.

Instead, we shall turn our attention to the specific relation which was to be observed between, on the one hand, the general approach to intercultural education which the Austrian authorities have evolved and, on the other hand, their attitudes towards the institutionalisation of educational responses to newly arising specific needs. For it is the specific shape of that relation which constitutes both the originality and the strength of the Austrian approach, and which deserves to be looked at more closely in the context of a discussion of transferability issues.

Throughout Europe, education systems have initially responded to the presence of migrant children in their schools by defining their needs in a reductionist way which was related to "linguistic deficits" only, and language, in the terms of those early definitions, hardly ever meant anything more than the language of the host country. The educational shortcomings and inconsistencies of those early definitions have now been widely recognised, and this is exemplified in the near-universal acceptance of the intercultural option, which has itself evolved from a criticism of the early initiatives and their onesidedness.

It is sometimes overlooked by educationalists that not all difficulties in effectively disseminating and implementing the intercultural approach can be explained by the trivial observation that established patterns of thought do not easily change. Some of these difficulties rather reside in the inertia and persistence of administrative structures which were created as a result of certain narrow analyses of educational need and which are not as easily undone now as they were established then.

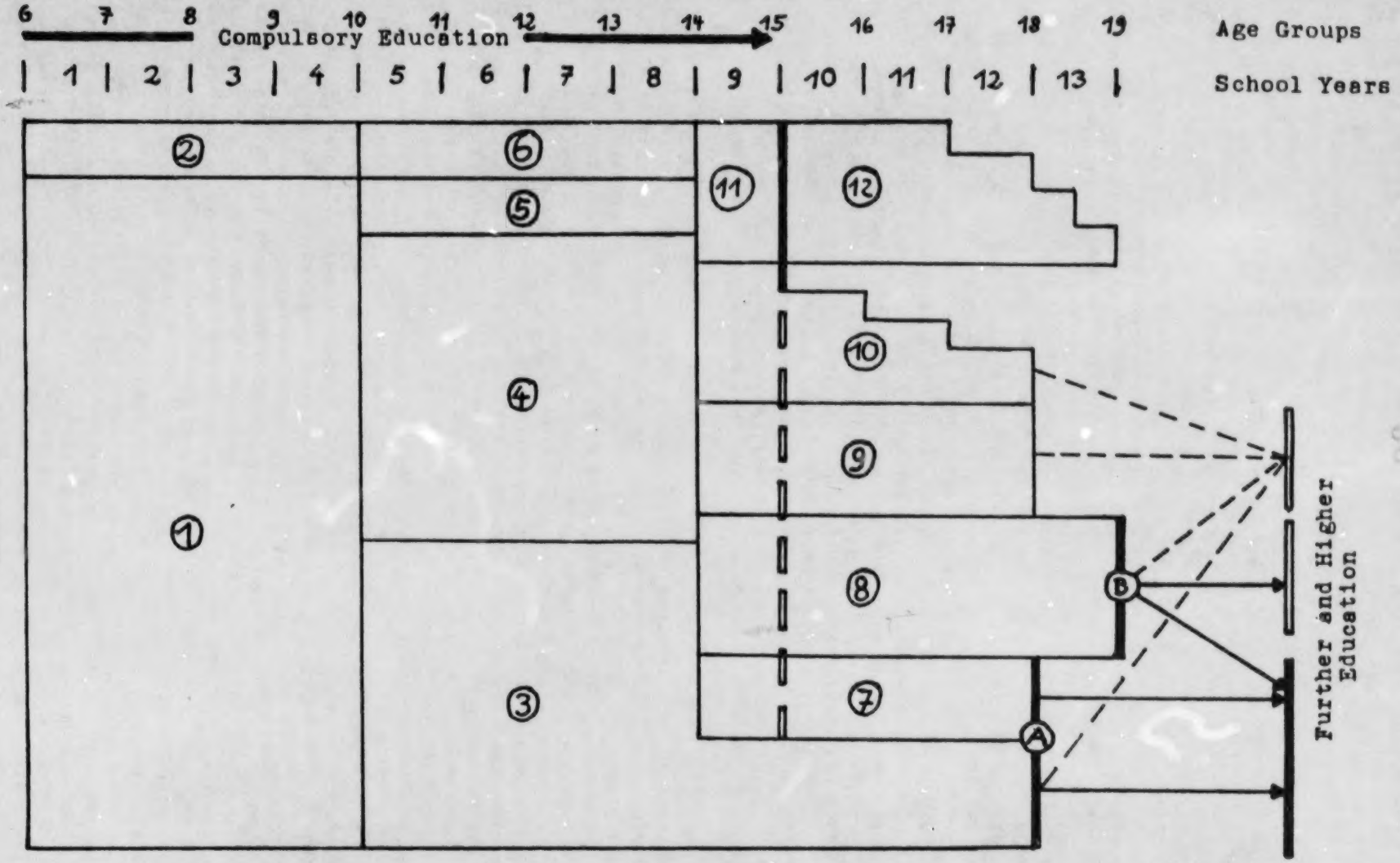
If the Austrian authorities have not allowed themselves to yield to the apparent short-term conveniences of segregative models of schooling, they originally did so in the name of an early option for an integrative, anti-segregationist approach. But it is only now that the moment has come to take a further step towards interculturalism that another strength of this approach emerges fully: as all provision for migrant children is either explicitly labelled as experimental, or, as is the case with teacher training, as voluntary and "additional", as consequently there is no specialist sector of the education system designated to take care of the issue (and thus to exempt all others from their responsibility), the conditions are there for all concerned to realise that the long-term perspective for development lies in the elimination of barriers between sectors of the education system, in the co-operation between different categories of personnel, and finally in the revision of existing practice throughout the education system as a whole. This is exemplified most clearly by the developments in teacher training, where the long-term task to provide comprehensively for the needs of a changing school population has been defined as being not for "experts in migrant education" to cater for the needs of migrant students in the area of, say, the humanities (however that might then be defined), but rather as ensuring that the general curriculum in the humanities reflects the need for all student teachers to learn to equip their future pupils with the life skills required by a changing society. In such a perspective, the specialist expertise in the education of migrant children is justified not so much by its intrinsic content and effectiveness, but above all by the extent to which it is brought to bear on the revision of existing practise and the development of new policies. It is only in the day-to-day co-operation between mainstream and support teachers, between these two and mother tongue teachers, between all these and teacher trainers from the various subject specialisms that the principles of intercultural education can be concretely embodied.

It is obvious finally that education alone cannot remove all the obstacles on the way to interculturalism in schools. Can the stated aims of education still be seen as fully adequate where the school population is characterised by an increasing degree of national, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity? Another, not quite as far-reaching example is constituted by the ambiguities which will remain over the education of migrant children as long as the long-term perspectives of residence and employment remain uncertain for their families. This is reflected in a particularly graphic way in the questions surrounding a rationale for mother tongue teaching. Is this offered to pupils as a reduced curriculum of the country of origin so as to minimise problems of re-integration in the case of an eventual return, or is it offered to help pupils to realise all aspects of their educational potential, and to enable them to experience their potential as an academically legitimate resource?

If answers to questions like these are not ultimately given by education itself, it is in the day-to-day co-operation of educational staff across all areas of the curriculum and across all sectors of the system that educationally legitimate answers are evolved and that models of inter-cultural communication and interaction are shaped. The most pertinent lesson to be drawn from the Austrian experience, so we should like to argue, lies therefore in the effective demonstration that the institutional obstacles which, in so many cases, hinder such co-operation from taking place, can be eliminated without compunction.

APPENDIX I

Fig. 1: Schools in Austria



Adapted from: BMfUK 1982/83

Glossary:

General remarks:
- Age groups are 'theoretical' insofar as pupils who are seen as not having attained the required minimum academic performance will repeat the class.
- Comprehensive Schools exists, but on a experimental basis only, and for school years 5 - 9 only.
- The choice of subjects to be taught in any one type of school is centrally determined.
- Although the first stages of the below categories 3,7,8,9 and 10 are quite obviously part of compulsory education, Austrian educators are in the habit of referring to categories 1,2,4,5,6 and 11 only when using the term compulsory school (Pflichtschulen). This report conforms to that general usage.
- 'Translations' of highly technical terms as those below can never be anything but approximative. For a full understanding one would have obviously have to look into curricular patterns.

1. Grundschule (Volksschule): Primary Schools
2. Sonderschule: Special Schools; catering for pupils with 10 different kinds of handicaps
3. Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schulen: 'Grammar' and 'Technical' Schools; selective entry examinations
4. Hauptschule: Secondary Modern Schools; may be extended to include year 9; the prevailing practice of streaming pupils into two ability groups is scheduled to be phased out
5. Volksschuloberstufe: Elementary Secondary Schools; may be extended to include year 9
6. Sonderschuloberstufe: Secondary Special Schools; may be extended to include year 9
7. Oberstufenrealgymnasium: 'Technical' Schools
8. Berufsbildende Höhere Schulen: Higher Vocational Schools
9. Bildungsanstalt für Kindergärtnerinnen und Arbeitslehrinnen: Training Institutes for Nursery Nurses and Home Economics Teachers
10. Berufsbildende Mittlere Schule: Intermediate Vocational Schools
11. Polytechnischer Lehrgang: Pre-Vocational Training and Careers Guidance
12. Berufslehre und Berufsschule: Apprenticeships-cum-Vocational School

A. Final Exams leading directly to higher education and University
B. Final Exams leading either to advanced Further and Higher Education or, after a few years of professional experience, to formal professional qualifications

Based on: BMfuK 1982/83

APPENDIX II/ANNEXE II

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